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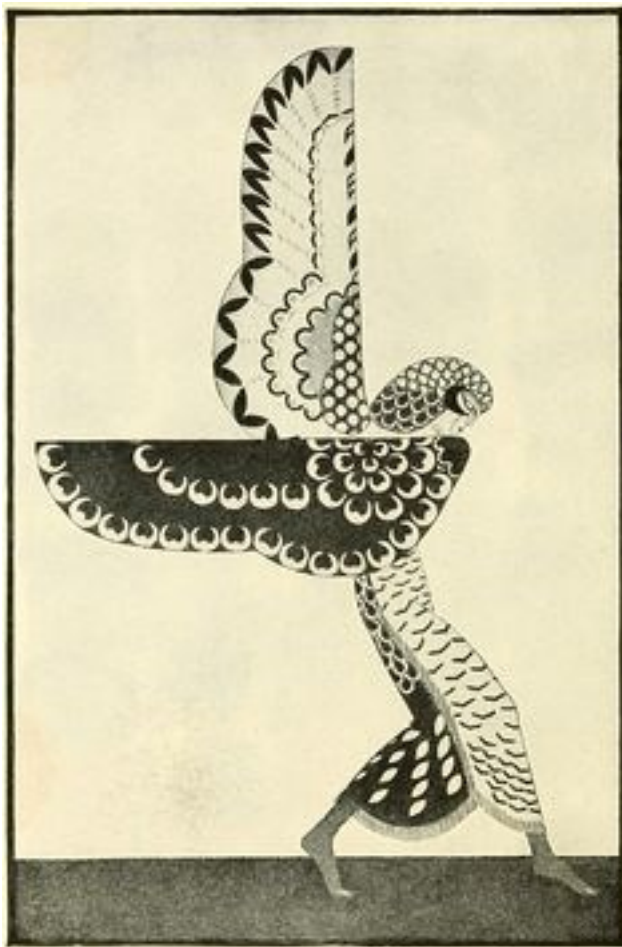


Dancer, Actor, Marionette: the Modernist Performer





1, 2. Edward Gordon Craig. Bird Dancer (above 1) and Actor (2). The Cranach Press *Hamlet*, 1930, pages 86 and 87. Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library.



3. Edmund Dulac, Design for *At the Hawk's Well*, 1917.



4, 5. Itō Michio as the Hawk, designs by Edmund Dulac, 1917.

For years I have been staring at Edward Gordon Craig's designs for the famous (or infamous) Craig/Stanislavski Moscow *Hamlet* (1909-11) alongside Edmund Dulac's designs for Yeats's equally celebrated production of *At the Hawk's Well* (1916), trying to find some connection between them. Which came first? What acted as inspiration for both designers, and were they aware of each other's work? What is the constitutive role of Noh, and the specific contribution of the dancer Itō Michio, for the development of the aesthetic of all these theatre makers? Of course, there are answers to some of these questions. Craig's models of the Moscow *Hamlet* were exhibited in London's Leicester Galleries in September 1912, probably bearing little resemblance to the actual production.¹ These hawk-like cut-outs for the actors appeared in print later in the 1930s in the equally celebrated book beautiful, funded by the notorious 'red' Count Harry Kessler, *The Cranach Hamlet*. Fascinating is the way these designs mirror each other, equally fascinating that Craig chose the bird-like figures for the meta-theatrical aspects of *Hamlet*, most vividly portrayed in the two-tone pages of the *Cranach Hamlet*, where Hamlet addresses the players. And this theatricality of the stage (and of the page) clearly has a Noh inflection. Through this somewhat incongruous coupling of Dulac and Craig I would like to approach these encounters possibly revising the initial types of questions posed. Beyond a generative criticism based on influence, and/or appropriation, perhaps these encounters/events between modernist theatre makers, almost always embodied or conceptualized through the performing body, could be read as a type of constellation of concepts and practices that extend beyond the received binaries of understanding modernism (source/influence, authenticity/appropriation, understanding/mis-understanding, tradition/innovation, radical/reactionary, centre/periphery – to name a few), and pose a more 'eventful' but unfinished and ephemeral perspective/lens, that may be less clearly defined but possibly more dynamic and speculative.

These mirroring images are also designed for the performing body; they already have the principle of embodiment inscribed within them. They are not stand-alone works of visual art, but visual images whose function is to be 'read' by a performing body. And in this sense they can be said to bring together discourses of visibility, textuality and embodiment, allowing us perhaps to approach the performing body as one – not necessarily in hierarchical order – of the analytical and

methodological units of modernism. Much of modernist criticism has relied on a reading of the modernist project as 'a revolution of poetic language', where the body enters usually as a metaphor for the word.² Coupled with the somewhat deep-seated tradition of anti-theatricality, modernist theatre has always lagged behind in modernist criticism, it has always been its poor cousin. It is not simply that many modernist writers wrote plays or translated classical ones (T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, Ezra Pound, H.D. Gertrude Stein, D. H. Lawrence – to mention a few from the Anglophone tradition), but also the fact that they were all actively involved in experiments that tried to examine the transition from the page to the stage, in a sense gesturing towards the autonomy of performance as an aesthetic practice above and beyond the direct transference of the word to the stage. And in doing so many writers, visual and performing artists helped to create the idea of the international (ist?) modernist network. The performing body as an analytical unit, not necessarily as a physical entity alone (the word as flesh, and the flesh as word) might in that sense be useful when approaching this eventual, international aspect of modernism. This brief excursion will try to sketch out the methodological and theoretical potential of approaching the performing body this way, but also to perhaps ask what is at stake in such an endeavor.

The attempt to read these encounters through the performing body, might also raise further issues about *how* to read modernism *in and through* performance. The use of *and* here, as I have indicated in previous work is paratactic, creating a broad constellation of ideas and a network of encounters that aims to avoid the issue of belated modernity (expressed in the list), or the power dynamics of hypotaxis (because, after, therefore etc). For modernism's linguistic turn is surely also and always its performative turn, evidenced clearly at that crucial interface where performativity, as a philosophical/linguistic concept, encounters actual experimentation in performance. In this sense the performing body within modernist experimentation becomes a kind of *ekphrastic machine*, mediating between genres, disciplines and art-forms. The term *machine* here is borrowed from Friedrich Hölderlin's writings on Greek tragedy, where the binary between *techne* and *mechane* is elided, re-working the Greek term *polymechanos*, which expresses a kind of embodied critical/practical thinking. Indeed, reading the modernist performing body this way - what in contemporary critical terms might be termed intermediality -

might help shift our understanding of modernism as being premised solely on the revolutions of the 'word'. Furthermore, almost despite its modernity this emphasis also rehearses the long *durée* of the anti-theatrical legacy, always projected (from Plato onwards) and enacted through the performer. This *ekphrastic* use of performing body (what some scholars have conceptualized as the *hieroglyph*, citing H.D and in contrast to Pound's *ideogramme*), exhibits the intricate and sometimes contradictory ways the anti-theatricality debate is staged within modernism. And in this way the most modern of experiments may be read as reviving the most ancient of debates. Could we in turn suggest that modernism itself (what Susan Stanford broadly calls 'the aesthetic domain of modernity') has a long *durée*,³ reviving, inflecting, and re-working older aesthetic debates? Stanford seems to think so, and theatrical modernism attests to this and we could also claim enacts this principle.

Another significant trope that theatrical modernism often inhabits is that of failure. The Craig/Stanslavski *Hamlet* mentioned above is a prime example of this. Many modernist performance experiments are plagued by discourses of failure and unperformability (Craig's many unrealizable projects, T. S. Eliot's play's, Ezra Pound's translations of Greek drama, H. D.'s acting for cinema, Isadora Duncan's refusal to notate, Gertrude Stein's operas, to name a few). It might, however, be more critically and interpretatively helpful to see this kind of work as more experimental and speculative, open to the liveness, risk and ephemerality of performance, work that at once resists reproduction and notation. Rather than read these as outright failures, we could approach them as part and parcel of the utopian aspirations of modernist theatre, partly deriving from the aesthetics of catastrophe, itself a result of the anti-theatrical tradition of modernist performance, but also and importantly deriving from its utopian dimensions. In *The Century*, Alan Badiou writes that, 'to criticize an aesthetic programme for failing to keep any of its promises is to miss the point'.⁴ In this book Badiou is reclaiming the failed and sometimes utopian attempts of the Historical Avant-garde, attempts that he somewhat counter-intuitively claims to be part of the century's attachment to the 'real'. This attachment to the 'real' is reworked within modernist theatre, primarily through the discourses of anti-theatricality itself. The same attachment to the real, I would claim, is discernible in H.D's double fascination with the miracle and the machine (as evidenced in her writing for the cinema in *Close-Up*) and with the period's fascination with un-

realisable projects. Rather than signifying a form of incompetence or a positivist inability to 'apply' these to a pragmatic stage, they point to another kind of reality; one that has a distinct utopian flavour. On the other hand, we might also claim that this revalorisation of the principle of failure as an aesthetic category expresses a kind of negative critique, or even negative dialectic in the Adornian sense. In another sense, however, does this make these modernisms 'bad', as Rebecca L. Walkowitz and Douglas Mao may claim? And the answer would be emphatically, 'yes!'.⁵

The performing body may come with the long *durée* of its aesthetic domain but is also stubbornly located within specific socio-historical contexts. (Moscow is also the cite of perhaps the most famous one between the Chinese actor Mei Lanfang and many of the high priests of modernist performance, Meyerhold, Tretyakov, Brecht and Eisenstein in 1935).⁶ Reading the performing body in these modernist intercultural encounters, always evental and international may offer ways of reading them that at once accord significance to specific socio-historical contexts, but importantly, do not reduce them to a simple generative outcome. The ways the body of the performer achieves presence in the non-mimetic traditions of acting (Noh, Chinese classical theatre, puppetry) that prove inspirational for these modernist theatre makers, also engage broader issues of representational efficacy. It is no coincidence that these issues (the debates about formalism in 1930s Moscow, for example, can also be read through the reception of Mei Lanfang's performance)⁷ are mapped out and enacted through the performing body. This in some ways can be read as reviving the oldest of aesthetic quarrels (Plato already termed it 'ancient' in his own time): that between theatre and philosophy. From Plato onwards anxieties about the political and ethical efficacy of performance/theatre have been mapped onto the body of the performer. Through these cross-cultural events, experienced through the presence of these performers, we can claim that modernist theatre stakes a claim for the aesthetic and political autonomy of performance. The term autonomy, inevitably echoes all the discussions from the 1930s onwards about the relationships between aesthetics and politics. Theatre enters this arena as paradigm (as used in the works of Walter Benjamin), but also through its renewed, and re-energized relationship with philosophy (what Brecht would term a 'philosophical theatre'), a relationship that radically reconfigures the *longue durée* of the anti-theatrical tradition. Perhaps one way in which performance begins to make such a

strong claim for its autonomy as an aesthetic mode could be through these sometimes vexed and ambivalent cross-cultural networks of performers and theatre makers.

It may seem somewhat counterintuitive to mention the term autonomy when discussing these encounters as at the same time they appear to be seeped in historical context, a context that has indeed more recently been read in terms of postcolonial criticism. In addition, more often than not recent criticism has gone beyond the politics of blame or historicist readings to propose a more nuanced and reciprocal relationship,⁸ one that like any relationship is not entirely free of power structures, but also not generatively bound to them. Again these international networks of theatre makers and especially performers, might prove useful in approaching modernism more generally, as they can be read as going beyond the rhetorical-discursive, material-historical divide. The concept of the event, as theorized by Alain Badiou, is again useful here. In fact, unlike the literary encounter, which might (mistakenly) be read as a metaphoric event, a performance constitutes a literal event, an event that always features the conspicuous presence of the performing body. This body, usually male, and in encounters that were more often than not homosocial, becomes a type of lens through which the intercultural encounter itself is filtered but also magnified or distorted. Yeats's encounter with Itō Michio, Meyerhold's with Mei Lanfang, was not solely rhetorical and discursive; it was first and foremost an event in which the actor's body was present. The impact and the inspiration (or the shock) were felt mainly through a reading of that body. The fact that these encounters were part of broader theatrical events involves its own methodological and theoretical constraints but also possibilities. The embodied aspect of these encounters makes them at once stubbornly historical and relational, but also singular and unique as artistic events. Indeed, if we read the aesthetic domain in the classical sense as primarily located in and mediated through the body, then these intercultural encounters may be significantly different from purely discursive or rhetorical ones. (Interestingly Jacques Rancière's 2013 contribution to reading modernism as a series of performance events is entitled *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*). Their liveness at once situates the event historically, underlining the notion of otherness, but, at the same time, relies on a fundamental understanding of sameness. And this interplay between familiarity and

distance becomes a formative category, inflecting both the politics and the aesthetics of modernist performance. Crucially, it also highlights the creative and speculative dimension of these exchanges.

This speculative creativity also gestures towards a singularity that makes a plea for the autonomy of the performance event. Whether this event is then reconstituted within Brecht's utopian Marxism or Artaud's sacred/mystical domain, or never actually materialized as in Craig's *Übermarionette* remains a matter of historical specificity. What has possibly been gained in the process of these interactions is a series of moments that gesture towards a singularity, a singularity that does not schematically dissolve into its socio-historical context nor is recuperated solely through the metaphysical or the political. These cross-cultural encounters, as Anthony Tatlow has proposed through the notion of the 'intercultural sign'⁹ and as Edward Said's late work through the musical analogy / concept of the 'contrapuntal' suggest, can throw up contradictions and shortcomings in both the home and the host culture (for example, the absence of female performers in many of the traditions that inspired the European modernists, or the uneasy identification between Fascism and Noh that we find in Yeats and Craig).

The emphasis placed on the presence of the performing body is shadowed by an equal fascination with its absence. Again the work of Craig is central to this argument. The 'actor or marionette' debate becomes fully articulated through his notorious essay of 1908, 'The Actor and the *Übermarionette*', itself a re-working of Heinrich von Kleist's famous essay of 1810 (circa), *Über das Marionettentheater*, first translated into English in Craig's periodical *The Mask* (1908-1928). Modernist experimentation in acting, at once fueled by discourses of embodiment *and* absence, finds an appropriate 'objective correlative' in the period's fascination with puppets, automata and robots. The *Übermarionette* – almost more effective for never being realized – becomes the trope through which modernist acting negotiates ideas of presence and absence, expressiveness and stylization, identity and non-identity. Isadora Duncan articulates this double quality of the marionette, somewhat incongruously when talking about dance and movement:

For hours I would stand completely still, my two hands folded between my breasts, covering the solar plexus. My mother often became alarmed to see me remain for such long intervals quite motionless as if in a trance – but I was searching, and finally discovered the central spring of all movement, the crater of motor power.¹⁰

This quotation brings together ideas about movement and stasis, the human body and the automaton, potentiality and impossibility, presence and absence, perhaps reminding us that when Kleist wrote about marionettes, he was referring to the art of the dancer. The dancer acts as the double of the marionette, in ways that Isadora Duncan acts as Craig's double. Craig and Duncan's conceptions of the performing body have sometimes been read in opposition: complete absence of physical and psychological embodiment at one extreme and absolute expressiveness at the other. Where Craig's *Übermarionette* might be read as a mechanised puppet or an automaton, Duncan's experiments could be said to lack technique or even form. However, experiments with marionettes and experiments in dance could be read side-by-side, problematizing the way these binaries have been read respectively as undiluted anti-theatricality at one extreme, and as pure theatricality at the other. From Kleist's evocative essay to Oskar Schlemmer's *Triadic Ballet* (1922), through Duncan's Hellenic-inspired dances, the mechanical and the bodily and intertwined.

In this way, the automaton, the *Übermarionette* and the robot could be read as at once quintessentially modern, but also classical, or rather neo-classical, parallel to ways that James Joyce re-writes Classical Hellenism for the purposes of modernity. These experiments could also be read as neo-classical in the ways that they conceptualise, embody and rehearse Plato's 'ancient quarrel' about the ethical and political efficacy of theatre. It is not surprising in this context to find that Craig's seminal essay is itself punctuated by two equally important quotations from 'the Greeks' that he so often summons throughout it. One is from Plato's *Republic*; it is the famous section about the rhapsode:

And therefore when anyone of these pantomimic gentlemen, who are so clever that they can imitate anything comes to us, and makes a proposal to exhibit himself and his poetry, we will fall down and worship him as a sweet and holy and wonderful being; but we must also inform him that in our state such as he, are not permitted to exist; the law will not allow them. And so,

when we have anointed him with myrrh and sewn a garland of wool upon his head, we shall lead him away to another city. (note being too long to quote, Book III, 395).¹¹

How fitting that Craig uses this iconic passage – one that has generated so much philosophical reflection about mimesis – to frame and to also justify his own theories about the Übermarionette. Like Plato, he too is concerned about the power of the actor to distort reality and to *mesmerise*, to act as a kind of charismatic demagogue who threatens the political order itself ('the law will not allow them'). And as in Plato this power of the theatre and theatricality is seen to be at the core of the problem of mimesis itself. To do full justice to the debate itself Craig also calls upon Aristotle in support of his manifesto for the actor, or more generally we could claim for a modern theatre. The quotation he uses from Aristotle is the equally famous passage from *Poetics*, where the 'spectacle' is denounced as the work of 'the stage machinist' rather than the poet, and where tragedy 'is felt even apart from representation and actors'.¹² These are the only two notes that Craig refers to in his essay. In calling upon the 'Greeks' to help him construct and articulate his argument, Craig is not simply being nostalgic, calling upon a unifying and homogenising rhetoric that would give his argument the aura of the classical. In many ways he is calling upon the 'Greeks' as both a philologist and as a theorist of theatre. Indeed, his own essay may be said to rehearse the ancient quarrel itself. As in Plato and Aristotle this quarrel is given shape and form through the workings of theatre and in particular is located on the performing body. Considering the role of puppets and automata (*thaumata*, Plato calls them, meaning miraculous creatures) in Plato's philosophical writings, we can perhaps even claim a lineage for Craig's Übermarionette that places it within a genealogy of writing about the efficacy (both aesthetic and political) of mimesis enacted through the figure of the automaton. The puppet/automaton, posed simultaneously towards the past (Classicism and the oral tradition) and the future may be read as enacting what Jacques Rancière calls the 'archaeomodern turn' of modernity, which, 'is located at the core of the modern project' and 'sets up two categories: that of figurative reason or of sleeping meaning, and the temporal category of anticipation'.¹³ So, this attitude towards the Greeks is possibly about the past but probably has more to say about the aesthetics of utopia. Sometimes, we speculate that Craig was perhaps unable to construct his Übermarionette because he lacked the technology to do so (or even lacked faith in technology altogether),

that his ideas were so ahead of their time that they in some way anticipated contemporary thinking about digital arts and the post-human. Although this may be partly true, Craig's phantasmic creation, may be more about the ghost in the machine than the machine itself, more about the whole category of futurity than any specific historical future that it may have anticipated in a linear, determinist and generative manner. Craig's refusal to construct the Übermarionette, in this context could perhaps be read as a type of creative failure, once again highlighting the significance of failure for modernist experiments in performance.

Before we return to the Dulac / Craig images that frame this brief essay (interestingly one led to a successful performance and the other to a failed one), I would like to take another brief detour and revisit another important performance event, this time one that is located at the heart of canonical modernism, that is in one of those famous Bloomsbury rooms. This encounter, intercultural, inter-medial and centred around the performing body, acts as an instance of a cross-cultural/inter-cultural network that in a contrapuntal manner helps to estrange both the home and the host culture. The event itself is narrated by the Indian writer Mulk Raj Anand in his memoir *Conversations in Bloomsbury*,¹⁴ published in 1981 but referring to his time with the Bloomsbury Group in the late 1920s. It is part of a crucial text that rethinks the relationships between modernism and postcolonial studies, Anand's final essay recounts his visit to 5 Gordon Square at the invitation of Arthur Waley (Orientalist, Sinologist and first translator of Japanese Noh) and Beryl de Zoete (Sinologist, dancer and dance critic). There amidst the company of many Bloomsbury luminaries (John Maynard Keynes and Lydia Lopokova amongst them), Anand witnesses the Indian dancer Uday Shankar perform the tandava dance of Shiva. The essay is entitled 'Ecstasy in Uday Shankar's Dance in the Salon of Arthur Waley and Beryl De Zoete'. Possibly more reciprocal than the events centred round the dances performed by Itō Michio for Yeats and Pound at Stone Cottage a decade earlier, this event is clearly retold as a conversation. Anand discusses Nietzsche's ideas about dance with Waley; Uday Shankar, the dancer, articulates his own meta-language about his art and reads it in terms of both Nietzsche and the Indian scholar Ananda Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Shiva*; Shankar himself is presented as a moderniser, as an experimenter, as 'He is the first middle class Hindu student not to have become a Babu. He chose to be dancer';¹⁵ present is also a queer modernist

gaze, where the Indian boy dancers playing the parts of women are referenced. All these elements reach a focal point with the arrival of John Maynard Keynes and his wife Lydia Lopokova, after which Shankar performs his dance. Shankar had previously met Lopokova through the Ballet Russes, as like many touring performers he too was interested in 'western' dance and performance. Anand calls Kathakali a 'Theatre of terror' and Keynes responds, 'Oh so you anticipated our long war',¹⁶ in an exchange which can be read as echoing Aristotle, Artaud and the vocabulary of contemporary performance studies, where the violence of the theatre of war, and the theatre of the stage mirror each other. Following the dance itself, Anand comments that 'This ecstasy is not the *Shanti* of T.S. Eliot's wishes',¹⁷ and Arthur Waley adds to this critical appreciation of ecstasy 'as violent tension'. Towards the end of the event Lydia Lopokova mentions that 'Yeats is also writing plays for dancers in the Abbey', and Uday Shankar invites Anand to 'leave philosophy, and become *Sutradhar*'. When Keynes asks what that means the answer is 'Puller of strings'.¹⁸ Puppets, puppeteers and dancers are once again called upon to metaphorise, embody, and provide commentary for this cross-cultural, network of relationships between artists, critics, and scholars of modernism.

These conversations that Anand recalls or perhaps even fictionalises present crucial encounters where ideas of sameness and otherness, centre and periphery are problematized and unlocked from their received binaries. Shankar's ecstasy is seen to be closer to Nietzsche's (and Classicism) than to the orientalist *Shanti* of T.S. Eliot. Anand himself refuses to make any claims of cultural authenticity and is as surprised by both the modernity and the traditionalism of Shankar's dance as his hosts are. Shankar's dance was influenced by the Ballet Russes (and his encounter with Anna Pavlova) as much as it was by Classical Indian dance and scholarship. Importantly, Anand comes to London to pursue postgraduate study after having being involved in the independence movement in India. In the 'Preface to the Second Edition' (1995) to his recollections he claims that he 'was nervous and on edge about the undeclared ban on political talk' in the Bloomsbury group.¹⁹ However, if we also insert the political into this encounter and add Anand's communism as a further frame, then Shankar's ecstatic dance, also becomes Emma Goldman's dance of the revolution, where the materialist vicissitudes of history and the ecstatic elations of dance are not read in opposition.

Perhaps I was asking the wrong type of question in trying to establish a link between the Craig and the Dulac designs. It is not so much a matter of which came first, or who influenced whom in a generative model of influence or appropriation, but more of trying to locate them within a complex network of relationships that at once acknowledges historical / ideological hegemonies but does not reduce these events to their mere symptoms. Both these designs could have come from the same portfolio. And this would be a portfolio of masterclasses that addresses some of the most fundamental concerns of and experiments in modernist acting: the relationships between movement and stasis, the human body and the automaton, tradition and innovation, influence / homage and borrowing, authenticity and artifice, potentiality and impossibility, presence and absence. These images could be part of a constellation of concepts and gestures (or *gestus* in the Brechtian sense) that at once rehearse the oldest debate about theatricality (the ancient quarrel of Plato vs Aristotle) and propel this into the future. The evental nature of these encounters gestures towards modernism's performative turn but also to its internationalist character. Indeed, the very notions of 'nature' and 'character', 'centre' and 'periphery' are under scrutiny in these encounters of primarily touring artists, where ideas of the local and the global are intermixed - not always democratically. The liveness of these events in turn raises challenging issues about spectatorship, notation and reproducibility, and the performance archive. Reading these images together in the complex polyphony that they create may perhaps tease out some of the performance legacies that help to highlight the centrality of the theatrical paradigm for modernism more generally.

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- ¹ See Laurence Senelick. *Gordon Craig's Moscow Hamlet: A Reconstruction*. Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1982, 184.
- ² See Kirsten Shepherd-Barr. 'Modernism and Theatrical Performance'. In *Modernist Cultures*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 2010, pp. 59-68.
- ³ Susan Stanford. *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity Across Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.
- ⁴ Alan Badiou. *The Century*, trans. with commentary and notes by Alberto Toscano. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007, 139. Alan Badiou is also considered to be one of the philosophers of the 'new theatricality' according to Martin Puchner. See Alan Badiou. *Phapsody for the Theatre*. Ed. Martin Puchner, trans. Bruno Bosteels. *Theatre Survey*, 49: 2, November 2008, 187-238.
- ⁵ See Douglas Mao & Rebecca L. Walkowitz. Eds. *Bad Modernisms*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006.
- ⁶ See Olga Taxidou. *Modernism and Performance: Jarry to Brecht*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, 136-47.
- ⁷ See Haun Saussy. 'Mei Lanfang in Moscow: Familiar, Unfamiliar, Defamiliar.' In *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Special Issue on Modernisms' Chinase, Spring, 2006, 8-29.
- ⁸ See Carrie J. Preston. *Learning to Kneel: Noh, Modernism, and Journeys in Teaching*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.
- ⁹ See Antony Tatlow. *Shakespeare, Brecht, and the Intercultural Sign*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2001.
- ¹⁰ Isadora Duncan. *My Life*. New York: Liveright. 1927, rpt. 1996. 58.
- ¹¹ Plato. *Republic*, III, 395. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 5.
- ¹² Aristotle. *Poetics*, VI. 19 and XXVI, 1-4. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 11.
- ¹³ Jacques Rancière. 'The Archaeomodern Turn'. In Michael P. Steinberg, ed. *Walter Benjamin and the Demands of History*. 24-40. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1996, 28-29. For the significance of this concept for modernism in general see Vassiliki Kolocotroni. 'Still Life: Modernism's Turn to Greece.' *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 2012, 1-24. Also see Rancière's comments on Craig's Übermarionette in his analysis of the Craig / Stanislavsky collaboration on the 'Moscow Hamlet' of 1909-1911. In Jacques Rancière. *Aisthesis*. Translated by Zakir Paul. 171-90. London & New York: Verso, 2013.
- ¹⁴ Mulk Raj Anand. *Conversations in Bloomsbury*. 1981. Delhi and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 171-9.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. 173.
- ¹⁶ Ibid. 177.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. 178.
- ¹⁸ Ibid. 179.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. ix.